



# Parking

What All the Fuss is About

Evan Manvel and Sean Edging





# Today's Meeting

**Why parking reform matters** (15 mins)

**Case Studies: Salem, Albany, Bend, Independence** (10 mins)

**Past, current DLCD parking work and resources** (10 mins)

**Discussion: What should we be doing?**



# Parking: Many Issues

Off-street parking

Code mandates

Parking design and orientation

Parking's relation to bikeways, sidewalks

Pricing, meter technology, etc.

Residential parking (permits, etc.)

Parking in business districts

Event parking



# Parking: Many Issues

Publicly subsidized parking garages

Tax treatment of parking lots & employer parking benefits

Storm water and heat island effects

Accessibility for those who cannot walk

Equity for those who do not drive

Bike parking

Dispersion of land uses



# Current Policy Questions

**How much car storage  
should cities be allowed to  
mandate in new residential and  
commercial developments?**

**(HB 2001 and Executive Order 20-04)**

**What can we do to reduce  
climate pollution from driving?**

**(Executive Order 20-04)**



# Why Parking Reform Matters

# Old approach

Hide costs by mandating lots of parking  
(avoids conflict; hides costs)

*But now*

Donald Shoup

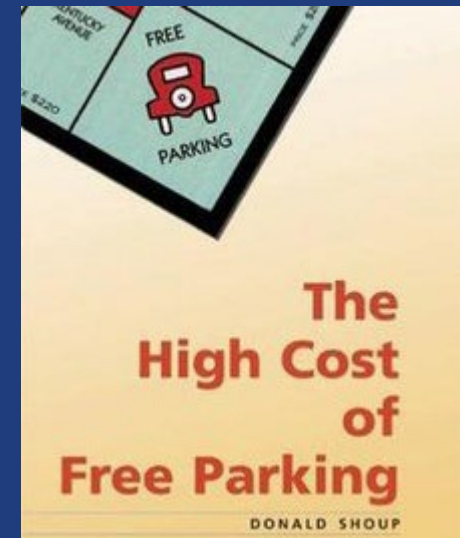
Climate emergency

Housing cost problems

People experiencing homelessness

Changing demographics

Physical inactivity epidemic





# How Much Land is Used for Car Storage?



# Corvallis, OR

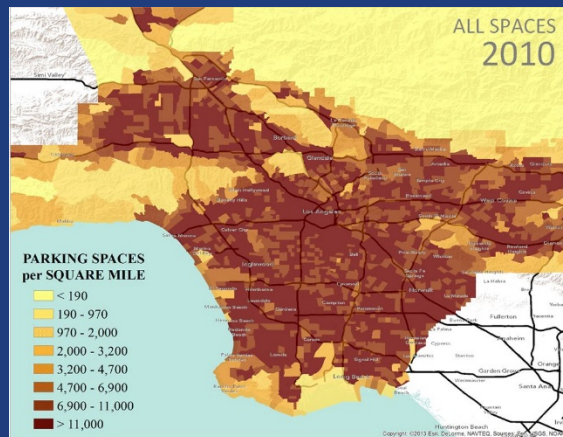
11% for parking

10% for roads

# Los Angeles, CA

14% for parking

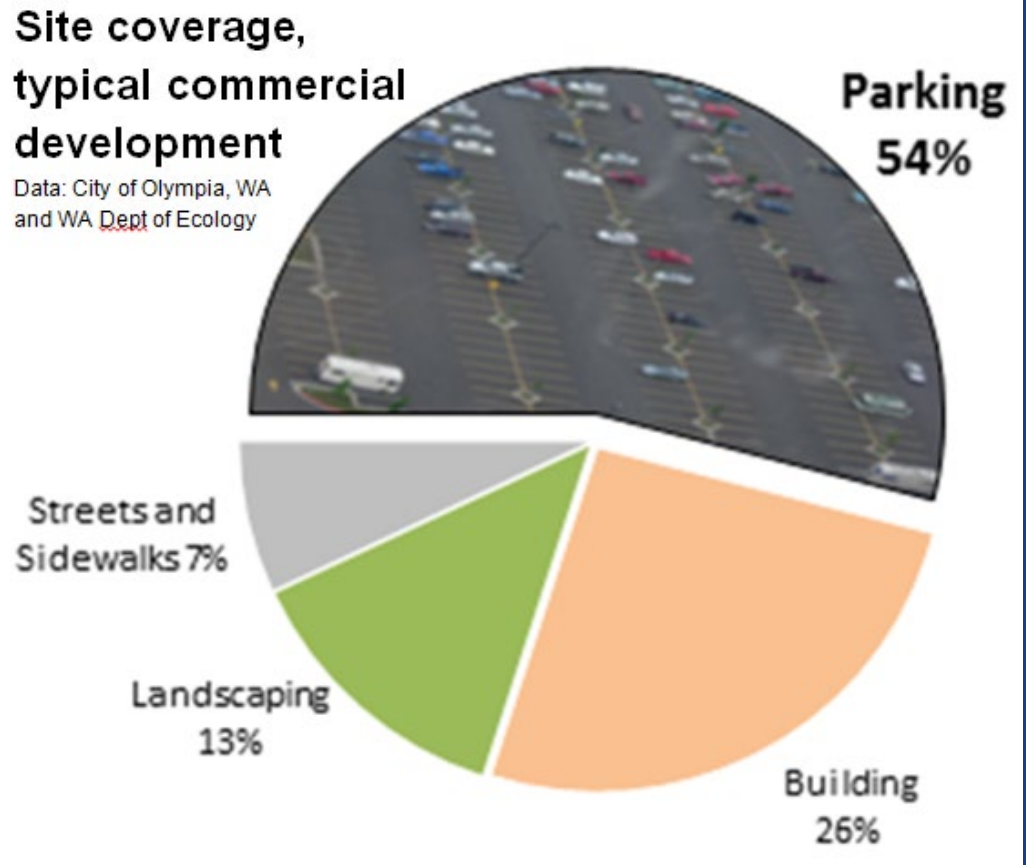
10% for roads



alleys	0.1%
buildings, OSU included	12.8%
building interiors	0.0%
buff	1.0%
decks	0.7%
driveways, gravel	0.2%
driveways, paved	3.1%
parking lot, gravel	0.9%
parking lot, paved	6.3%
path	1.4%
road, gravel	0.1%
roads, highway	0.9%
road, paved	8.7%
sidewalk	2.4%
Total Area Corvallis at 14.3 mi <sup>2</sup>	

# Olympia, WA

54% of land in commercial sites  
for parking



# Downtown Off-Street Parking in Corvallis





**Conclusion:**

**Parking uses a huge  
amount of land**



**How Much Does  
Parking Cost  
and What Does  
that Effect?**



# Building a Parking Space

(not including land cost and opportunity cost)

**Eugene: \$42,000/space parking garage** (2018)

**Corvallis: \$11,000/space surface** (incl. land)

**\$62,000/space garage** (inc. land, debt)

**Surface off-street: \$1,500 - \$6,000**

**Residential garage: \$15,000 - \$20,000**

**On-Street: \$2,000 to build**

**\$400/year to maintain** (MAPC, CT study)

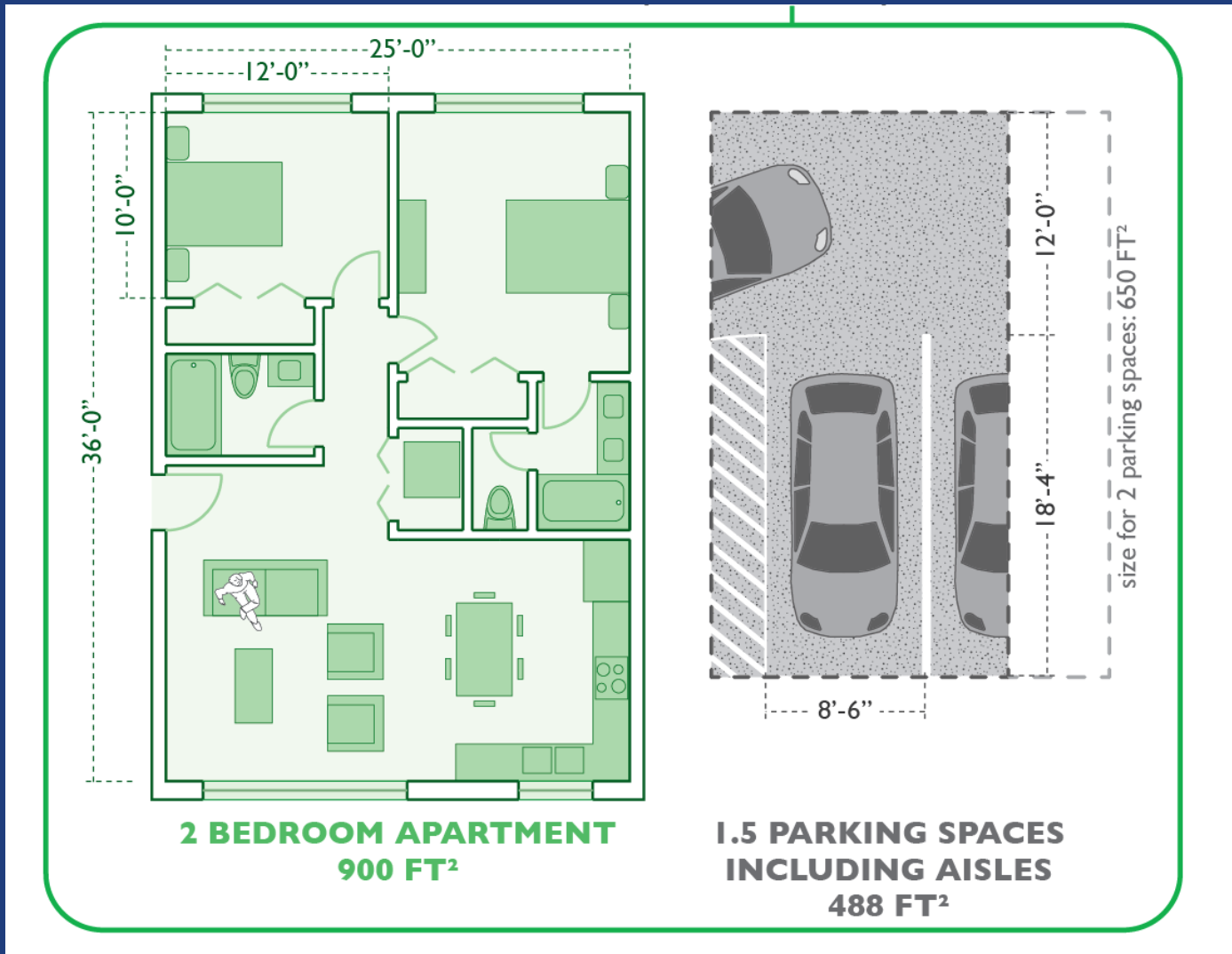


# Lost Property Taxes

**Each space cost  
Hartford, CT \$1200/year  
in lost property taxes  
= \$50 million/year  
(University of Connecticut 2014)**



# Opportunity Cost and Land Cost *Sightline*







# Parking's Share of Housing Costs

**Litman (2019):  
10-20% of Total Housing Cost**

**Gabbe and Pierce (2016):  
17% of Rent**

**These focus on parking in larger cities (often  
garages), but similar data exist for Corvallis**

**Choice:  
House Cars or  
House People?**

**Oakland:  
mandate for one space/unit  
costs per apartment increased 18%;  
30% fewer units built**



## 18<sup>TH</sup> & WILLAMETTE

INTEGRATED FOURPLEX + 1 BE

4 UNITS \ 1 BUILDING \ 1 LOT

# Eugene

ZONING REQUIREMENTS			
MAXIMUM BUILDING COVERAGE	50%	ACTUAL BUILDING COVERAGE	34%
MAXIMUM # OF UNITS	2	ACTUAL # OF UNITS	4
MINIMUM # OF UNITS	none	ACTUAL # OF UNITS	n/a
REQUIRED PARKING/DWELLING	1	ACTUAL PARKING/DWELLING	0.75



# Affordable Housing Development (King County WA)

**one space/unit**

**increases leasing costs 12.5%**

**two spaces/unit**

**increases leasing costs 25%**

**Parking means cities build  
fewer affordable housing units**



**Conclusion:**

**Parking is  
expensive and  
hurts housing choice  
(particularly in larger cities)**



# How Much Built Parking is Unused?



# Multifamily Developments

**King County, WA: 40% avg. unused**

**Bay Area, CA: 28% avg. unused**

**Albany, OR: 30% avg. unused**

**Hillsboro, OR: 25% avg. unused**



# Best Predictors of Demand

(King County, WA)

Transit Frequency  
Population & Jobs Density

Less so: bedroom count

Independent variable	Individual R Square	Stepwise R Square
Gravity measure of transit frequency	55.5%	55.5%
Percent of units designated affordable	27.6%	67.1%
Average occupied bedroom count	34.3%	73.7%
Gravity measure of intensity (population + jobs)	53.3%	76.2%
Units per residential square feet	17.1%	78.7%
Average rent	6.7%	80.0%
Parking price as a fraction of average rent	18.1%	81.0%

**Table 1:** Independent Variables and Summary of Regression Results.





**Conclusion:**

**Lots of Built**

**Parking is Wasted**



**Does Parking  
Supply  
Change  
How Much  
People Drive?**

# Best Evidence Thus Far: Yes

## Bundled parking correlates with:

- Higher car ownership
- Higher rates of driving even with same car ownership

Parking behaviour: Bundled parking and travel behavior in American cities

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UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs, Los Angeles, CA 90095, USA



### ARTICLE INFO

**Keywords:**  
Parking  
Transit  
Zoning  
Land Use  
Bundling

### ABSTRACT

We investigate the relationship between bundled residential parking and on use of public transportation, and controlling for vehicle ownership. At the price of housing, the time and stress of finding parking near households with bundled parking to drive more and use transit less than both households own vehicles. To date this idea has been difficult to test this prediction using the public transportation module of the 2013 Am

## Bundled parking and vehicle ownership: Evidence from the American Housing Survey

Michael Manville

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**Abstract:** This article estimates the effect of bundled residential parking—parking whose price is included in the rent or purchase price of housing—on household vehicle ownership. Using data from the American Housing Survey, I show that the odds of households with bundled parking being vehicle-free are 50–75 percent lower than the odds of

### Article history:

Received: January 19, 2015

Received in revised form:

September 12, 2015

Accepted: September 29, 2015



# Best Evidence Thus Far: Yes

**Parking cash out leads to**

- **20-25% less driving by employees**
- **[Evan needs to flesh out this slide]**



# **Parking is Usually Bundled and Not Paid for Separately**

**96-99% of parking is bundled, meaning:  
higher rents and home prices,  
lower paychecks, higher prices,  
non-drivers subsidize drivers**

**The economy picks up the tab for  
free parking - an enormous  
inducement to drive.**



**It Doesn't  
Have to Be  
This Way**

# Other Cities in the World Approach Parking Differently

**On each site** vs. **Area management**

**Gov't mandated** vs. **Market provided**

**Excess parking** vs. **Meeting demand  
or limiting supply**

Most cities have a parking *management* problem, not a parking *supply* shortage





# People Want Parking Unicorns

200 square feet of space  
precisely at the place they want  
exactly when they want  
for no cost



# Parking Management

Using parking management,  
people can have a space  
*nearly where and when* they need it.

For larger cities,  
*nearly* at the price they want it.

# Parking Management

1. Inventory parking supply
2. Check use levels
3. Devise management plan,  
including pricing and  
enforcement



# Parking Reform

# Parking Reform is a *Psychological Problem*

MARKETING SCIENCE

Vol. 26, No. 6, November–December 2007, pp. 742–757  
ISSN 0732-2399 | EISSN 1526-548X | 07 | 2606 | 0742

informs

doi 10.1287/mksc.1060.0254  
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## Zero as a Special Price: The True Value of Free Products

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**The Public Street in Front  
of Your House is Not Your  
Private Parking Space  
(\*unless so designated)**

**Walking a block or two  
is okay  
(even pleasant)**

**Spillover one place  
does not mean  
we should mandate  
excessive parking  
everywhere**

**It means we should  
better manage parking**



**No Mandated Parking**

*does not mean*

**No Provided Parking**

**Builders are nervous of risk and the unknown**

**Lenders are nervous of risk and the unknown**

**Experience shows builders will build parking**

# **Builders Will Still Build Parking Tenants Demand**

**Portland: Apartment builders 0.7 spaces/unit**

**Seattle: 0.7 sp/unit in centers, transit corridors**

**Downtown LA: 1.2 spaces/unit**

**Salem: 1.75+ spaces/unit**

**Corvallis: 2+ spaces/unit**

**Eugene: lenders force downtown builders to  
build garage parking**



# **Case Study: Albany, OR**

**Reviewed development code in 2018**

**Councilors concerned about spillover parking**

**Hired Rick Williams Consulting to collect and present data about 16 sites**

# Case Study: Albany, OR

Average 30% unused; three sites fully used

Demand averaged 1.23 spaces/unit

Code remained the same



# **Case Study: Salem, OR**

**Updated multifamily code 2018-2020**

**City staff and consultant decided to reduce parking mandate**

**Salem resident pushed for further reforms**

**Council voted to eliminate mandates in downtown and within  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile of frequent transit**

# **Salem – Keys to Success**

**Two council champions**

**Developers reassuring they'd still build parking**

**Addressing parking during debate where other things are more controversial**

**Generally supportive staff**

**Previous council experience reducing parking for a downtown development**





# **Case Study: Bend, OR**

**Trying to redevelop a neighborhood near downtown (Bend Central District)**

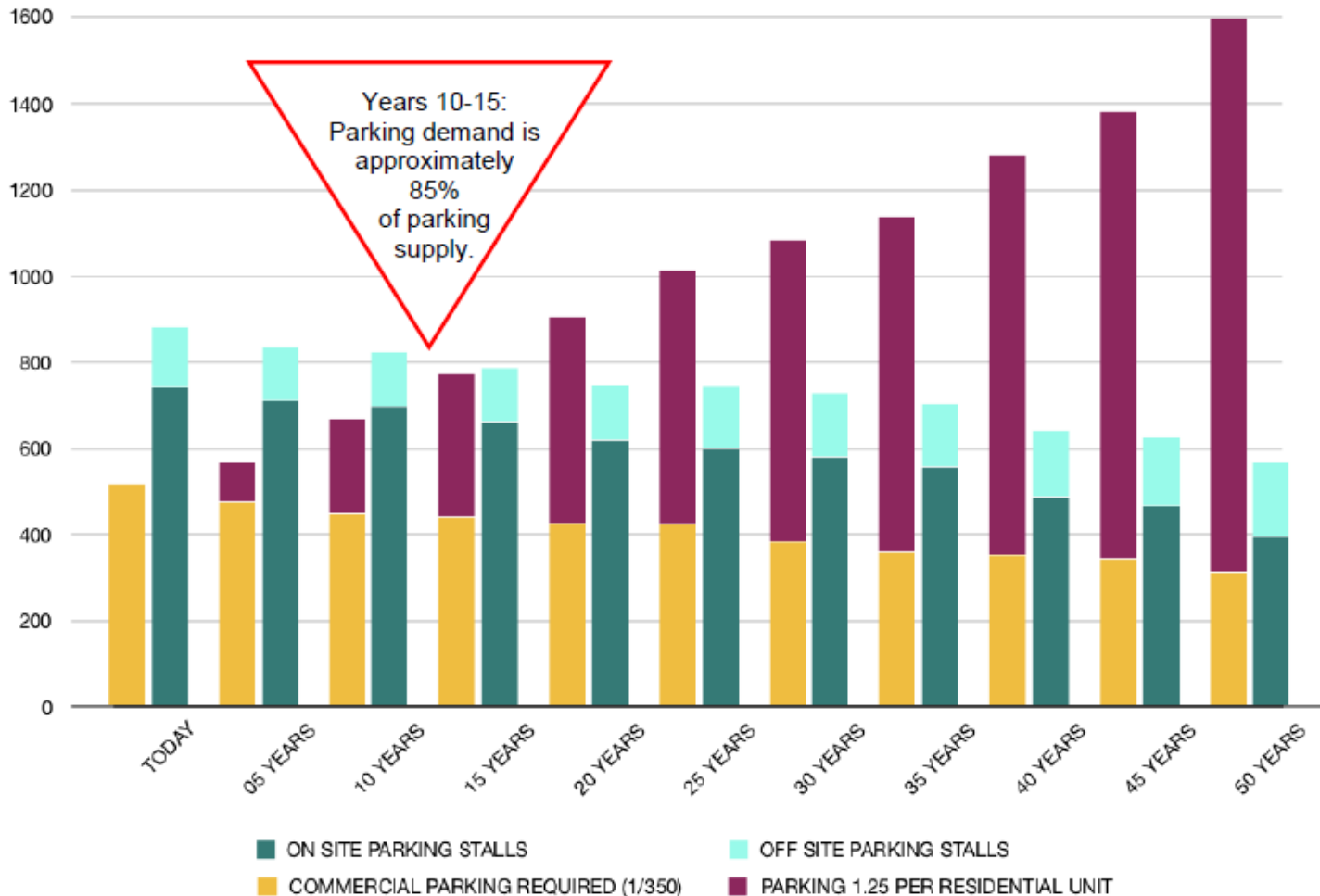
**Little redevelopment or concerns about parking**

**Waived parking mandates for up to 10,000 sq. feet building footprint**

**Able to revisit if parking gets scarcer**

# Case Study: Bend, OR

Figure 7. Proposed Code, Higher Parking Demand Scenario



# **Anecdote: Independence, OR**

**Got a call about “parking problem”**

**Laura and Evan talked it through with staff and gave presentation to downtown interests**

**Parking problem was:**

- One block in each direction from the main intersection**
- One business owner parking in front**
- Loading zones**
- Event parking**

# Seattle reform

## 2012-2017 saved \$537 million

Land Use Policy 91 (2020) 104655

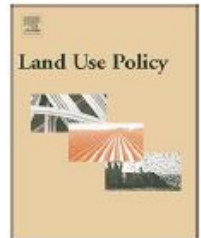


ELSEVIER

Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](#)

### Land Use Policy

journal homepage: [www.elsevier.com/locate/landusepol](http://www.elsevier.com/locate/landusepol)



## Parking policy: The effects of residential minimum parking requirements in Seattle



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ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

# **DLCD Work**

**TGM Publications (Old and New)**

**TGM Projects**

**TGM Presentations**

**Code Assistance & Parking Codes**

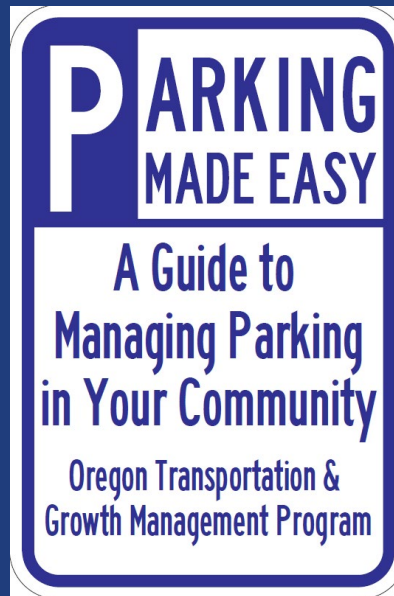
**HB 2001 Model Code and Compliance**

**TPR/STS Review**

# TGM Publications

[www.oregon.gov/LCD/TGM/Pages/Parking.aspx](http://www.oregon.gov/LCD/TGM/Pages/Parking.aspx)

## Management Parking Made Easy: A GUIDE TO TAMING THE DOWNTOWN PARKING BEAST



## 8 Quick Ways Cities Can Improve Parking Codes

Is your community concerned about housing costs, the cost of doing business, walkability, climate pollution, historic preservation or age-friendly development? Have you seen wasted land, turned away restaurant proposals in downtowns, or wished housing was cheaper to build?

There's something easy you can do – improve your parking code. Parking requirements affect all of these issues. While a thorough updating of parking codes is in order for most cities, these improvements can be made quickly.

Eight things cities can do today:

1. Allow required parking to be off-site, within walking distance



## Downtown Parking Management

A Powerful Tool to Meet Community Goals

### The Costs of Mismanaged Parking

*Storing cars is an expensive challenge*

#### Lost Business

Customers want to get to businesses. If parking is poorly managed, and all the spots are taken, customers may shop elsewhere. But *too much* parking can also harm businesses, by degrading the walking environment in local business districts. If an area is dominated by parking lots, people will park only at the place they were planning on going and leave directly, instead of parking nearby, walking past other businesses, and lingering downtown.

Cities should aim to get supply just right – not too much, but enough. Some call

*If all the spots are taken, customers may choose to shop elsewhere.*

*If there's too much parking, a place becomes uninviting.*

## A Strategic Guide to Implementing Parking Reform



Reducing costly parking mandates can be a challenging task for planners and decision-makers.

Too often, the politically easiest thing to do is to continue the pattern of the past: force new development to provide excessive parking, avoiding potential conflict with those accustomed to abundant, “free” (subsidized) parking. This conveniently hides the large costs of parking, but makes it harder to walk and easier to drive, artificially driving up the demand for parking and the costs of housing, doing business, and getting around.

How to break the cycle? Here are some recommendations on how cities might go about reforming the extremely costly, counter-productive market distortion of mandated car parking.

# Language

## A Strategic Guide to Implementing Parking Reform



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How to break the cycle? Here are some recommendations on how cities might go about reforming the extremely costly, counter-productive market distortion of mandated car parking.

## Don't Say

Parking requirements

Parking needs

Free parking

Developers

Parking

## Instead Use

Costly parking mandates

Parking demand

Subsidized (or unpriced) parking

Local builders and contractors

Car storage (occasionally)

# You Won't Believe #7!

## 8

### Quick Ways Cities Can Improve Parking Codes

Is your community concerned about housing costs, the cost of doing business, walkability, climate pollution, historic preservation or age-friendly development? Have you seen wasted land, turned away restaurant proposals in downtowns, or wished housing was cheaper to build?

There's something easy you can do – improve your parking code. Parking requirements affect all of these issues. While a thorough updating of parking codes is in order for most cities, these improvements can be made quickly.

1. Allow parking to be off-site
2. Count curbside frontage to count toward mandates
3. Waive mandates for low-car housing types
4. Waive mandates for renovation and small business
5. Set mandates no higher than 1/unit (0.5 for studios)
6. Allow shared parking
7. Require parking unbundling
8. Have a fee-in-lieu program



# Unbundling Parking

**Stop requiring people to pay  
for other people's parking  
(lease it separately)**

**Unbundled New Multifamily Required In:**

**Santa Monica, Berkeley, Seattle,  
Oakland, San Francisco, San Diego**

# **TGM Projects**

**Banks parking management  
(trail visitors and downtown)**

**Often a theme in projects  
(e.g. Klamath Falls downtown)**

# **Presentations**

**Independence presentation 2019**

**Oregon Main Streets Conference 2019**

**Corvallis presentation Feb 2020**

**HB 2001 TAC/RAC presentations Mar 2020**

**Panels proposed for OAPA and League of Oregon Cities conferences 2020**

# **Code Assistance**

**Offered parking code review Feb 2019  
completed for Gladstone and Tigard**

**Cascade Locks Code Assistance  
No mandates downtown**

**Madras current code project  
(1 space/residential)**



# House Bill 2001 Rulemaking

**Medium Cities – Duplex  
on each lot or parcel**

## **Model Code**

Does not require provision  
of off-street parking

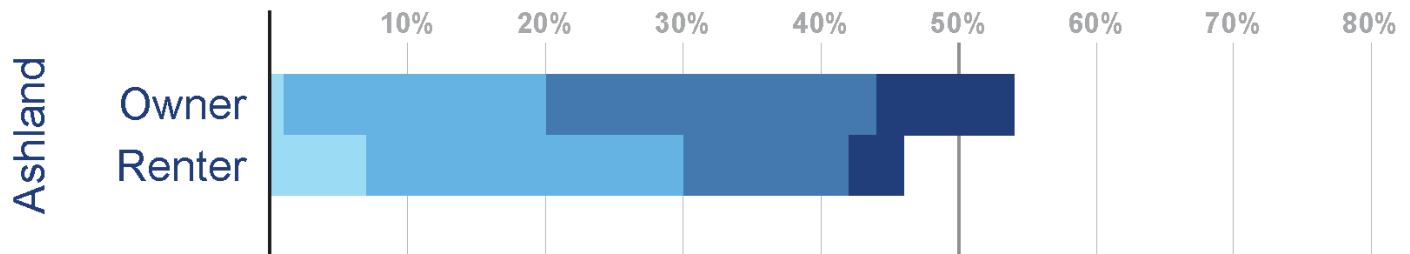
## **Administrative Rules**

Allows a minimum  
requirement between 0  
and 2 off-street parking  
spaces for a duplex

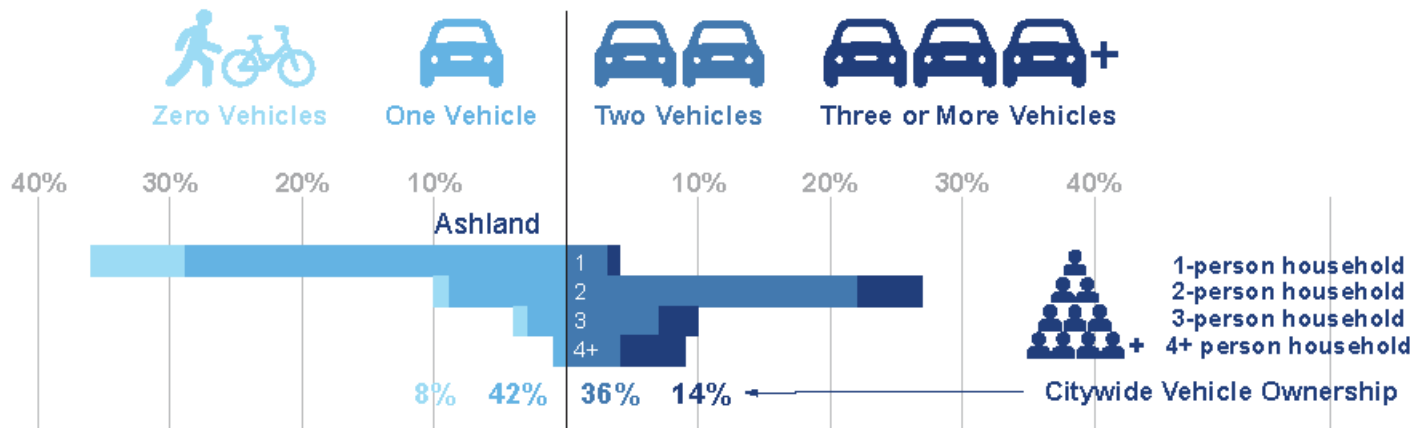
# Anticipated Demand

## American Community Survey 2013-2017

### Tenure



### Household Size





# Vehicle Ownership

## Key Findings

### Tenure (Table B25044)

- Renter vs Owner

### Household Size (Table B08201)

- Small vs Large Households

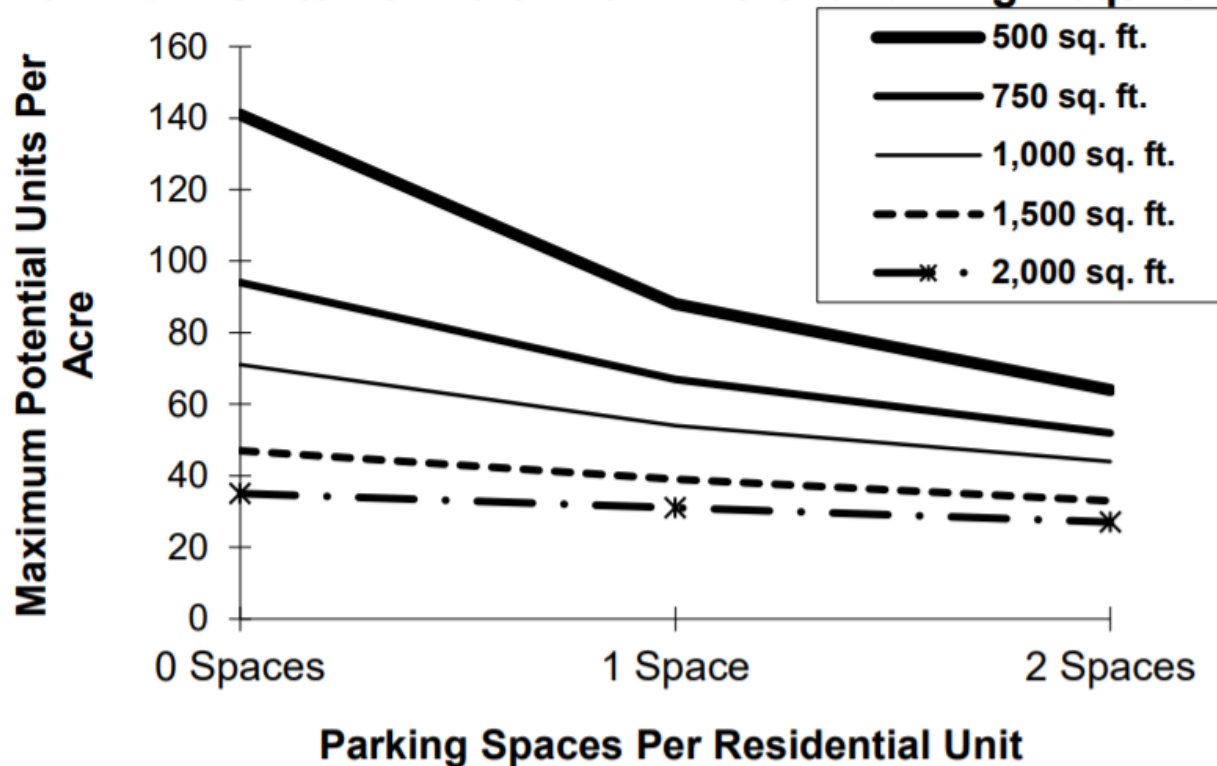
### Regional Variation in Vehicle Ownership

- Metro vs Non-Metro Jurisdictions

# Housing Lost

Source: Litman, T., & Steele, R. (2017). *Land use impacts on transport*. Canada: Victoria Transport Policy Institute.

**Maximum Units Per Acre With Different Parking Requirements**



*Maximum potential density declines as the number of surface parking spaces increases. This impact is proportionally largest for smaller units. (Assumes 300 sq. ft. per parking space, 90% land coverage, 10% common areas, 2 story buildings.)*

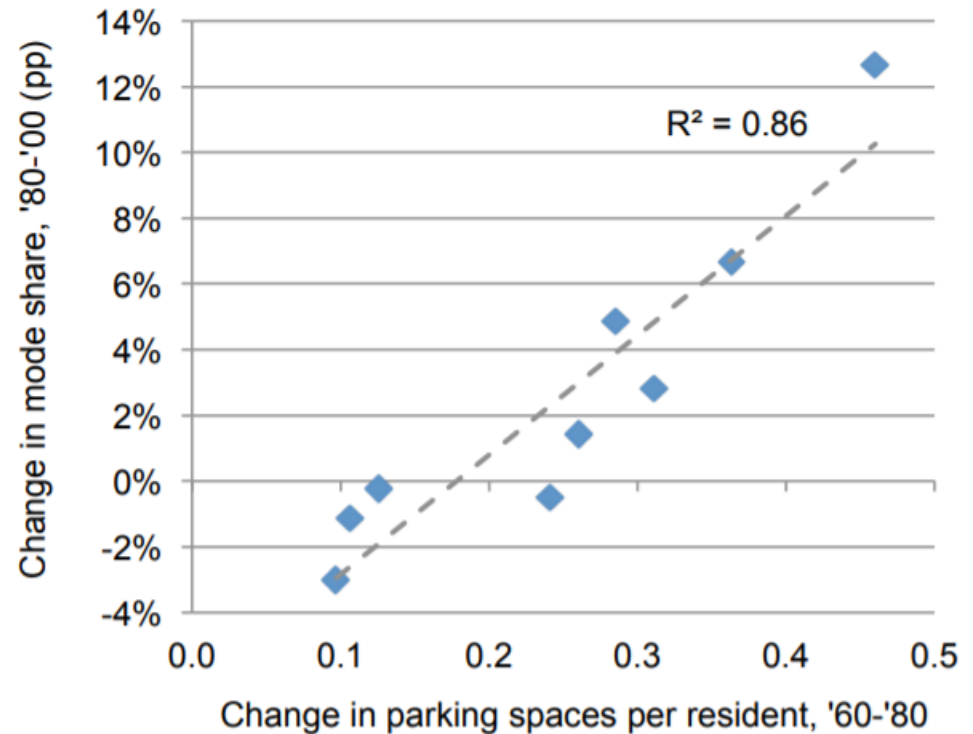




# Executive Order 20-04

3. **General Directives to State Agencies.** From the date of this Executive Order, the state commissions and state agencies listed in paragraph 1 are directed to take the following actions:
- A. **GHG Reduction Goals.** Agencies shall exercise any and all authority and discretion vested in them by law to help facilitate Oregon's achievement of the GHG emissions reduction goals set forth in paragraph 2 of this Executive Order.
  - B. **Expedited Agency Processes.** To the full extent allowed by law, agencies shall prioritize and expedite any processes and procedures, including but not limited to rulemaking processes and agency dockets, that could accelerate reductions in GHG emissions.
  - C. **Agency Decisions.** To the full extent allowed by law, agencies shall consider and integrate climate change, climate change impacts, and the state's GHG emissions reduction goals into their planning, budgets, investments, and policy making decisions. While carrying out that directive, agencies are directed to:
    - (1) Prioritize actions that reduce GHG emissions in a cost-effective manner;
    - (2) Prioritize actions that will help vulnerable populations and impacted communities adapt to climate change impacts; and
    - (3) Consult with the Environmental Justice Task Force when evaluating climate change mitigation and adaptation priorities and actions.

# Minimum Parking and Automobile Mode Share



Source: McCahill, C. T., Garrick, N., Atkinson-Palombo, C., & Polinski, A. (2016). Effects of parking provision on automobile use in cities: inferring causality.

# Implications for Rulemaking

- Perceived demand not supported by best-available data
- The cost imposed by minimum parking requirements:
  - Costs thousands of dollars per space (more for garage/covered)
  - Imposes disproportionate cost on households with limited means
  - Results in fewer units, especially smaller and more affordable units
- Compelling evidence that minimum parking *causes* increased automobile mode share

# Discussion

**Questions on presentation?**

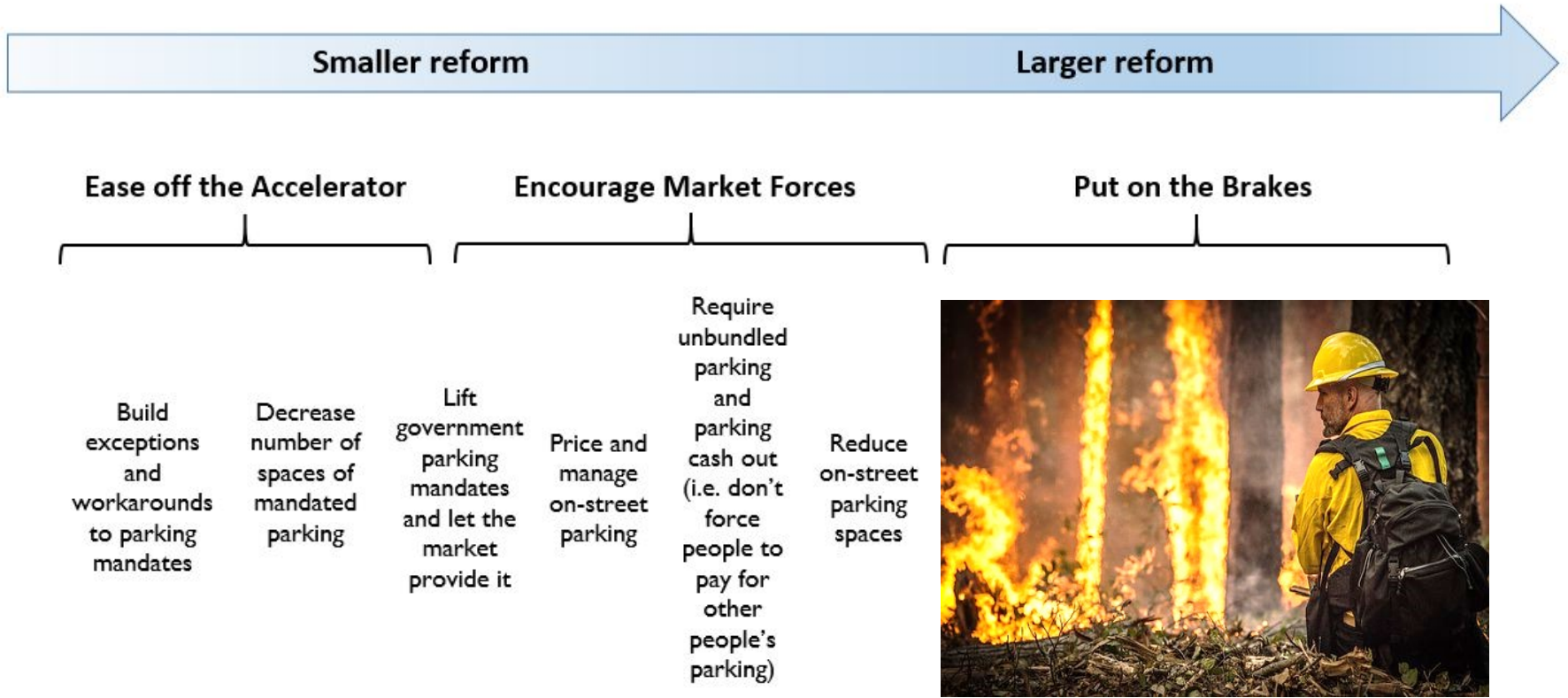
**What more should DLCD be doing?**

**Where's the biggest impact?**

# **End of Presentation**

**(excess slides remaining for  
potential question answers)**

# Reforming How Government Treats Cars: A Scale



# Corvallis Parking Prices

## Market Price

(non-central storage place)

**Inside: \$2688/year (\$224/month)**

**Outside: \$1068/year (\$89/month)**

## City Price

**Residential permits: \$25/year (\$2/month)**

**7 cents a day**

# Corvallis

**One-bedroom apt \$800/month**

**One car: \$90 = 11% of rent**

**Two-bedrooms \$1,300/month**

**Two cars: \$180 = 14% of rent**

**(Craigslist search 1/15/2020)**



# Corvallis Car Ownership

## Renter Households

**16% have no car**

**44% have one**

**28% have two**

**13% have 3+**

## Owner Households

**10% have no car**

**38% have one**

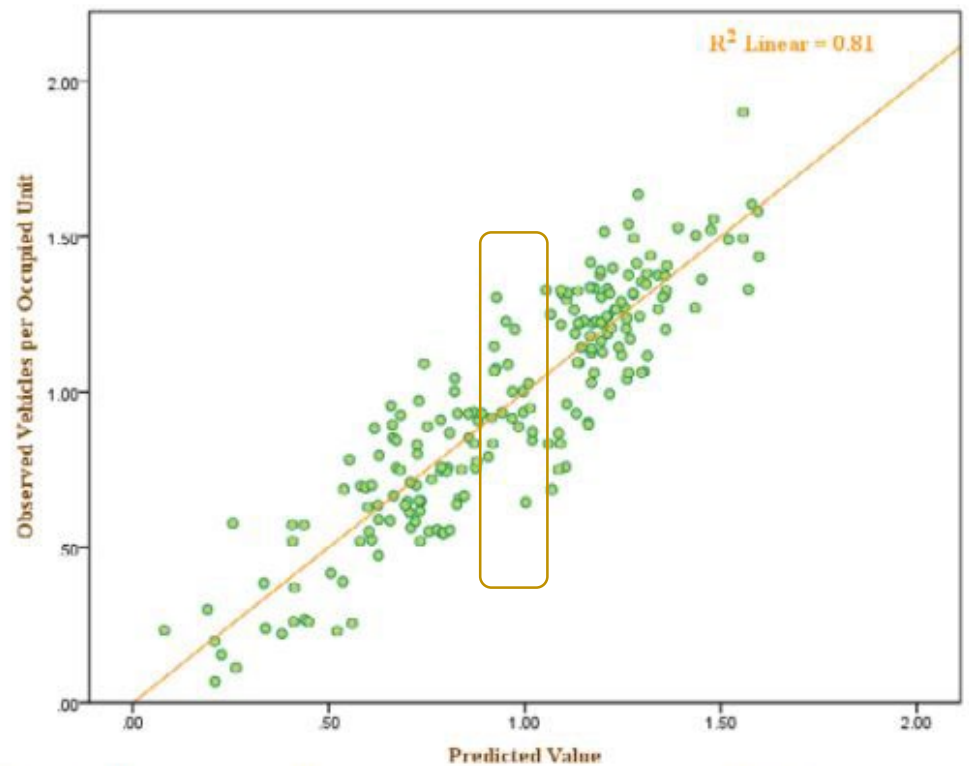
**37% have two**

**15% have 3+**

Independent variable	Individual R Square	Stepwise R Square
Gravity measure of transit frequency	55.5%	55.5%
Percent of units designated affordable	27.6%	67.1%
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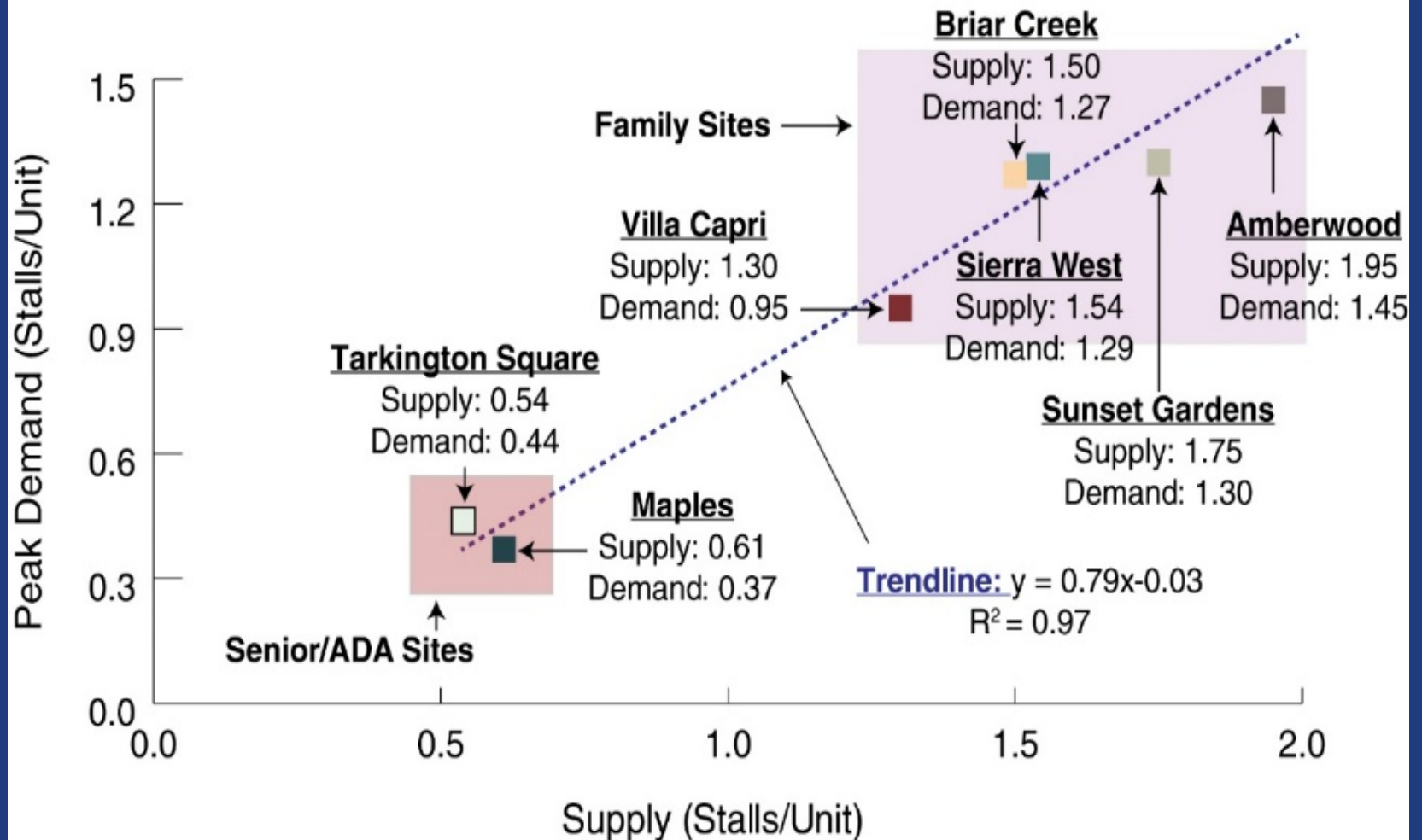
**Table 1:** Independent Variables and Summary of Regression Results.

**Lots of  
variation and  
factors**



**Fig. 3:** Observed vehicles per occupied unit versus modeled value.

## Demand Versus Supply



Hillsboro Parking Data from Lancaster Engineering

# Lost Housing Opportunities

**San Francisco:**

**houses without off-street parking  
\$46,000 less than with**

**affordable to 24% more households  
(1997)**

# Current Land Development Code

## 4.1.30 - OFF-STREET PARKING REQUIREMENTS

### 1. Single Detached and Manufactured Homes

**Two spaces per dwelling unit.**

### 2. Single Attached - Zero Lot Line

1) One, Two, or Three-bedroom Unit - **Two spaces** per unit.

2) Four-bedroom Unit - **3.5 spaces** per unit.

3) Five-bedroom Unit - **4.5 spaces** per unit.

# Current Land Development Code

Single Detached with more than one dwelling unit on a single lot, Duplex, Attached, and Multi-dwelling –

- 1) Studio or Efficiency Unit - **One** space per unit.
- 2) One-bedroom Unit - **One** space per unit.
- 3) Two-bedroom Unit - **1.5** spaces per unit.
- 4) Three-bedroom Unit - **2.5** spaces per unit.
- 5) Four-bedroom Unit - **3.5** spaces per unit.
- 6) Five-bedroom Unit - **4.5** spaces per unit.

# Corvallis Land Development Code

l. Bedroom Size Determination - Multi-dwelling units having a bedroom in excess of 160 sq. ft. shall provide added vehicle and bicycle parking of 0.5 parking spaces per oversized bedroom.

m. Fractions - When the calculated sum of the required vehicle and/or bicycle parking spaces includes a fraction equal to or greater than one half of a space (0.5 or more), a full space shall be required. If the fraction is less than 0.5, an additional space shall not be required.

# Corvallis Land Development Code

I. Bedroom Size Determination -  
Multi-dwelling units having a  
bedroom in excess of 160 sq. ft. shall  
provide added vehicle and bicycle  
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oversized bedroom.



# Recommended Reforms (1)

**Remove parking mandates**

**and**

**manage on-street parking**

# Recommended Reforms (1a)

**If not repeal:**

- ✓ **Reduce mandates**
- ✓ **Expand exemptions**
- ✓ **Provide flexibility**

# Reduce Mandates

**No more than 0.5 space per studio and one-bedroom apartment, any downtown unit and**

**No more than 1 per larger unit**

# Expand Exemptions

## Target What You Want and Exempt It from Costly Parking Mandates

- ✓ Affordable Housing
- ✓ Senior Housing
- ✓ Historic Building Reuse
- ✓ Small Businesses
- ✓ Transit-Oriented Housing
- ✓ Downtown Housing
- ✓ Bike-Oriented Housing
- ✓ Reuse of Long-Vacant Buildings

# Recommended Reforms

## Provide Flexibility

- ✓ **Allow Off-Site Parking**
- ✓ **Allow Street Frontage to Count**
- ✓ **Allow Shared Parking**
- ✓ **Round Down**
- ✓ **Remove Big Bedroom Boost**

# **Corvallis Land Development Code Already Does Some of This**

**Location of Required Parking - Required parking shall be provided on property located within the Central Business (CB) and Riverfront (RF) Zones and within 750 feet of any new development.**

# **Corvallis Land Development Code Starts to Do This Already**

**1. A reduction of up to 10 percent ... if a transit stop... is located on-site or within 300 ft.**

**2. A reduction of up to 10 percent... For every 8 required bicycle parking spaces... can reduce one space**

**(Ashland allows up to 50% less)**

# Corvallis Land Development Code

Parking: 884 mentions

4.1.10 - PURPOSES to provide appropriate location and design of parking.... provide sufficient parking in close proximity to the various uses for residents, customers, and/or employees; and to maintain traffic carrying capacity of nearby streets.



# Corvallis Land Development Code

o. Maximum Parking Allowed - No site shall be permitted to provide more than 30 percent in excess of the minimum offstreet vehicle parking required by Section 4.1.30, below, except as provided in "p," below, and in Section 4.1.30.g.3.b.

# Parking Management

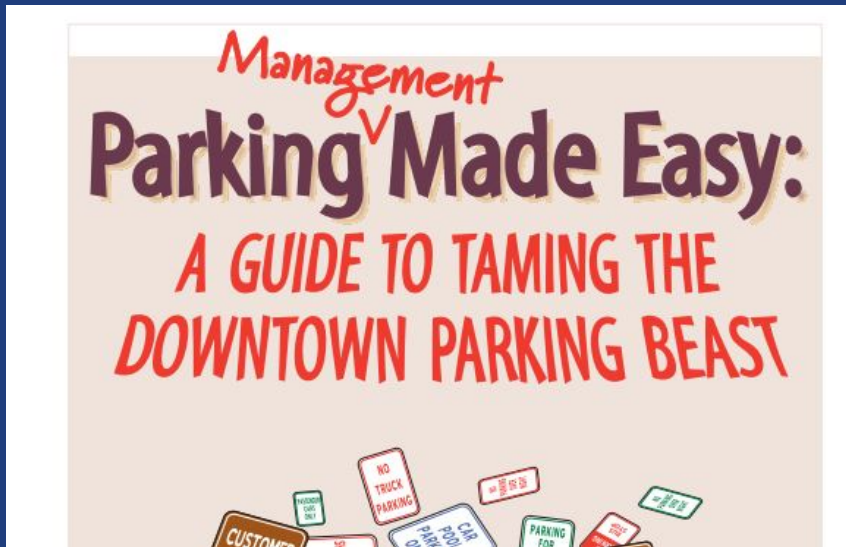


**People regularly walk significant distances from where they park – but sometimes don't perceive it.  
(The Mall)**

# Inventory

Perceptions are questionable

Data are key



a study that  
for each hour

**Figure 5. Parking At or Near Capacity by Time of Day and Street Segment**

Street	Location	9AM	10AM	11AM	12AM	1PM	2PM	3PM	4PM	5PM
Second	Vine to Ash	◆	◆	◆						
Second	Ash to Sherman			◆						
Second	Sherman to Grant							◆		◆
Second	Grant to Maple				◆	◆	◆	◆		
Second	Maple to Oak					◆				
Second	Oak to A				◆	◆				
Main	Ash to Sherman						◆	◆		◆
Main	Sherman to Grant		◆				◆			
Park	Sherman to Grant	◆	◆		◆	◆		◆		◆
Maple	3 <sup>rd</sup> to 2 <sup>nd</sup>	◆		◆				◆	◆	
Maple	2 <sup>nd</sup> to Main			◆	◆	◆		◆		
Maple	Park to Grove	◆	◆		◆	◆	◆	◆		



# Northwest U.S.

**At least 2.2 parking spots per car  
Worth about \$6,000 each**

**\$13,000+ per car**

**Parking is worth more than our cars**

**(Sightline Institute 2013; adjusted for inflation)**

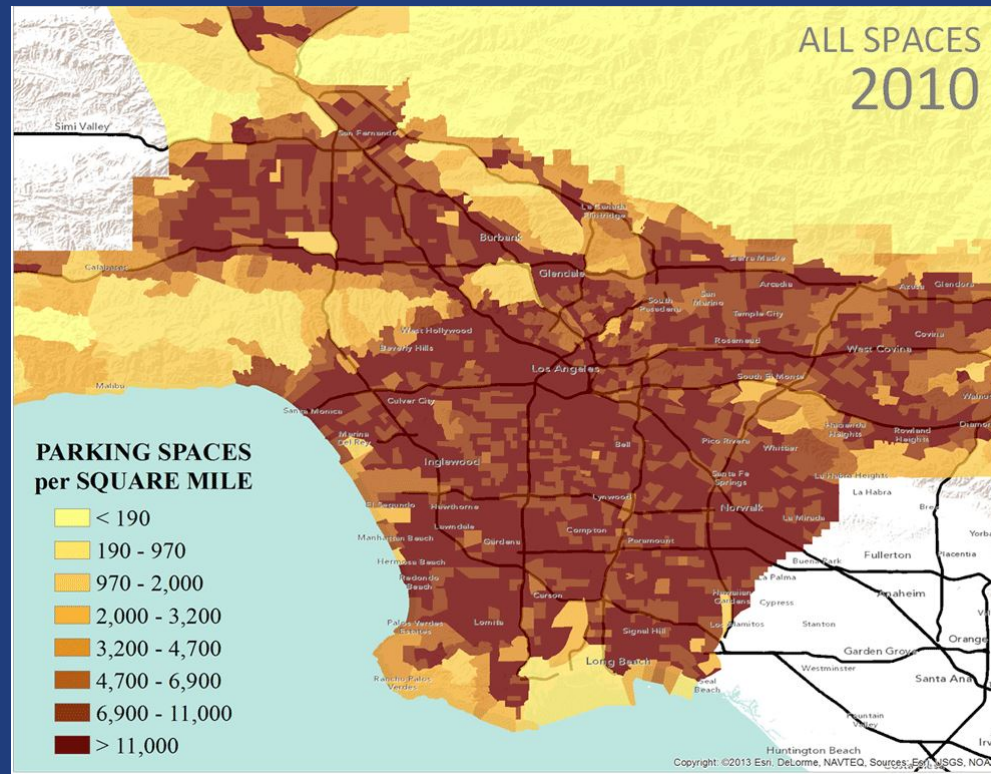


**The cost of parking?  
1.2 to 3.7% of GDP,  
about \$1250 per person**

Mark Delucchi,  
University of California, Berkeley

# Los Angeles County:

14% of all land is parking,  
10% for roads



# National Study:

Up to 27 parking spots per household  
Costing \$6,500 to \$192,000 per household

City	New York	Philadelphia	Seattle	Des Moines	Jackson, WY
<b>Total Parking Spaces</b>	1.85 million	2.2 million	1.6 million	1.6 million	100,119
<b>Parking density per acre</b>	10.1	25.3	29.7	28.4	53.8
<b>Parking spaces per household</b>	0.6	3.7	5.2	19.4	27
<b>Total replacement cost of parking</b>	\$20.1 billion	\$17.5 billion	\$35.8 billion	\$6.4 billion	\$711 million
<b>Parking cost per household</b>	\$6,570	\$29,974	\$117,677	\$77,165	\$192,138